1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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All traditions of the seclusion of children rest on an authentic custom, the memory of which has not been entirely lost. Both De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 81) and members of Gonzalez' expedition (90, p. 40) mention having seen huts where children were apparently secluded, guarded by adults.

FEAST HOUSE

A large house (*hare nui*) was built before a feast (*koro*) where young people gathered to play and sing. They lived in more or less promiscuity, and tradition says that they had many opportunities to make love and to have sexual intercourse. Foundations were laid for many marriages during the feast, but as evidenced by numerous tales, the feast houses were not for the young people only but for all invited guests. Routledge was told that the young people who shared in the dances had to be "white" (*ritorito*) which in Easter Island is almost synonymous with "fine." Routledge (194, p. 235) writes: "In connection with some or all of the *kaunga* (dancing grounds) there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order 'to get their complexions,' a touch which shows that a white skin was admired." In traditional records of *koro* some confusion may have arisen between the seclusion before the feast and the actual *koro*.

INITIATION RITES

When the children between the ages of 13 and 15 years were submitted to seclusion, rites were celebrated which had perhaps the character of a consecration. Little is known about these ceremonies, and their significance is obscure. The boys and girls who went through the ceremonies were termed *poki take* and *poki manu* (bird children). Routledge (194, p. 266) was told that the *take* ceremonies were dropped about 30 years before the arrival of the missionaries and that no living person had attended such a ceremony. The oldest man in the village when Routledge was there stated that the *take* ceremony was intended for adults and that the father performed the rites when the son was born. My information was obtained from Viriamo through Tepano. She said that boys and girls were sent to Motu-nui when they were 13 years of age. They sojourned on the island for three months, living in separate caves. Food was taken to them in canoes, and ornaments (*tahonga*, wooden balls) and special breechcloths of tapa called *hami mama* were sent them by their parents. The children were given red and white ocher (*kiea* and *marikuru*) for the painting of their bodies. White bands were painted around the arms and feet, concentric white circles on the back at the level of the waist, and two white rings on the buttocks.

The ceremony following seclusion was called *te manu mo ta poki* (the bird for the child). I could discover no better explanation of this feast and its benefit than that given by Routledge, which is vague and probably incor-

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After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of the Miru could marry into any descent line.

Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

Geographical Distribution of Tribes

Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited. On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and composed of only a few members.

The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui* (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups, the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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643 262 784 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 291 386 301 826 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 764 533 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 644 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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501 knob is bulkier than those of other islands and lacks the beaked shape which
171 characterizes both the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles. On one face of Tuamotuan paddles is a median flange which prolongs the handle and stops near the distal end, also provided with a knob. The other surface has a ridge continuous to the tip. Some Hawaiian paddles (109, p. 17) have a small rib at the tip. Cook Islands paddles are characterized by a raised flange.

CORDAGE

283 Cords (*hau*) were made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or paper mul-
[824] berry bast. The bark was stripped off the tree, the outer surface scraped away, and the bast allowed to dry. The fibers were rolled on the bare thigh into strands which were twisted together. The number of plies in ropes varied according to the size and strength required. Now only fine cords are made, principally for trade. Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that bulrush bast was used for making ropes, but he is certainly mistaken, for bulrush fibers are not strong enough for cords and natives never mentioned the bulrush among the cordage material. A microscopic analysis by Dr. Roland W. Brown of the seine net (*kupenga maito*) in the National Museum in Washington showed that the twine was made of paper mulberry fibers. Thomson (215, p. 460) speaks of the *hau* bark and of a native hemp. No hemp grows on the island
● [826] and it is impossible to know to what plant Thomson alludes. Braided human hair (*hiri*) was very popular on Easter Island for cords. Even in Tahiti the Easter Islanders made such braids (56, p. 321).

MATS

285 Mats were termed *moenga* (thing-to-sleep-on); thus the name defines the
[764] principal use. Mats were also worn by women instead of tapa cloaks. Dead people were wrapped in mats, and many mat fragments were found in the tombs. Rolled into big bundles, mats formed swimming floats (*pora*). Not a single mat is to be had nowadays, but natives remember the general principle of technique, which is illustrated in two reed mats collected by Geiseler and stored in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (pl. 2, *C*).

The reeds (*Scirpus riparius*) come from the lakes of Rano-aroi and Rano-kao. They were split open with the thumb nail and allowed to dry for a few days before the soft substance was scraped out with the nails. The strips were then sewn together with doubled lengths of *hau* string spaced at intervals along the length of the strips. For technique see figure 20.

The mat shown in plate 2, *C*, is 159 cm. long by 107 cm. wide. It has 16 weft lines which are spaced about 10 cm. apart or nearly 4 inches. Another mat in the Berlin Museum (VI.4971) is 195 cm. by 187 cm. An informant writes that the ends of the strips were fastened by two strings that were knotted around each strip, but this technique does not appear in the mat figured in plate 2, *C*.

BASKETS

Food that natives traded to the Cook expedition was presented in large mat bags of very neat workmanship (83, vol. 1, p. 590). A woman depicted

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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CLOTHING

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Winter months are decidedly cold on Easter Island, and heavy clothing is welcome. Present natives suffer from the cold, and one wonders how they withstood the rainy season with the scanty clothing they wore before European garments were introduced. Since their first contact with Europeans, Easter Islanders have shown a great eagerness for clothes. A shirt or a pair of pants is more valuable to them than any other European article. Fifty years ago both Geiseler and Thomson remarked that for clothes the natives would part with anything. Though present natives rationalize this desire by the necessity for protection against cold, the source of this passion for clothes is vanity (81, vol. 38, pp. 68):

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> They do not care to cover themselves in order to get protection from heat or cold, but they want to show off. Therefore they dress themselves, they adorn themselves, they load themselves with anything which may be hung on one way or another. The man who can secure a gown wears it, two if he has two. The woman who obtains a pair of trousers, a jacket or coat combines them all as elegantly as possible.

Today most of the men wear navy uniforms and the women, who have great difficulty in obtaining clothes, wear parts of uniforms. In olden days, however, women were always more fully dressed than men. The supply of paper mulberry was small and the native garments, though fundamentally like those of eastern Polynesia, were neither as various nor as plentiful as on other islands. Cook found a good market on Easter Island for his Tahitian tapa.

[855]

Only children, the boys until twelve and the girls until nine years old, went naked. Though most of the early visitors state that the natives were naked, they generally add that the sexual organs were covered. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) infers that some islanders were entirely naked, but he remarks that the "larger portion however wear a maro, made either of fine Indian cloth of a reddish colour, of a wild kind of parsley, or of a species of sea weed." Easter Island men who boarded the ship of Admiral du Petit-Thouars wore only a string around the waist, but they swam to the ship and may have left their *maro* ashore.

Clothing for Men

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The most usual garment, especially for young men, was a bunch of grass (*mauku uta* or *mauku tai*), suspended from a string of women's hair which was the thickness of the little finger, and tied around the waist. This rudimentary garment is still remembered by the natives and was described by La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 63). Many natives wore hanging from their belts, instead of the bunch of grass, a "kind of net work . . . too thin to conceal anything from sight" or a "small bit of cloth six or eight inches long" (83,

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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which is, however, misleading. They are wiry, lithe, strong, active, tireless on the march, capable of carrying heavy burdens long distances, indifferent to weariness, and seemingly equal to any amount of effort they might be induced to make. We saw this frequently exemplified on our tramp around the island, when, after a weary day's march, we would come into the camp foot-sore and tired, while they, fresh and active apparently, would go to work catching and dressing sheep, building fires, etc. If we complained that the water was "vai kava," bitter, they would endeavor to explain where better could be found and immediately start off, with bucket and canteen, on a tramp of a mile or two over the plain, or down into a crater, in order to bring us "vai maitai," good water.

These people proudly claim direct descent from the image and platform builders. It is not the writer's province to discuss this point, although strong arguments might be adduced to demonstrate the contrary. Be that as it may, it is very evident to the most casual observer either that the modern Rapa Nuiis belong, whether wholly or, which is more probable, in part, to a different race or that they are the "degenerate sons of worthy sires."

The color of their eyes is dark brown, with black brows and lashes, neither very heavy. Their expression of countenance is pleasing, mild, frank, modest, intelligent, and somewhat sad. They are slender but well formed, clean of limb, and the various parts of the body are well proportioned to each other. Their foreheads, while not very broad, are of good height and but slightly receding, which is also true of the facial angle generally. The head is well balanced and cheek bones are notably prominent. Their nose is quite straight and well shaped, with no marked spreading of the alae; mouths of moderate size and usually filled with excellent teeth, which, when the jaws are closed, come squarely into apposition; lips rather thin; hands and feet small. It may be mentioned that they attribute the beautiful appearance and excellent condition of their teeth to the chewing of sugar cane, large quantities of which they consume as food. There is nothing savage or repulsive looking about them, and some of their young women are decidedly comely and attractive. While in their habitations the evidences of good housewifery are nearly nil, they are quite cleanly in their personal habits and there is no unpleasant odor noticeable about their bodies. They all dress in European costume. They are a bright, intelligent, quick-witted people, of rather a nervous temperament; tractable and gentle in disposition, decidedly sympathetic and tender-hearted and markedly emotional in their natures, so that they are easily moved either to tears or laughter. In evidence of the latter trait in their character one or two instances may be adduced.

When the Catholic mission was first established on the island Chief Mati took a great liking to the reverend father in charge, evinced the greatest affection for him, and finally adopted him as his son. Such

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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unlike the paved approach to some of the ahu. A demonstration was given of the way it was used. The dancers, "fine men, fine women," as was explained with emphasis, proceeding along it single file, holding rapa in both hands. In connection with some or all of the kaunga there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order to "get their complexions good," a touch which shows that a white skin was admired.

These feasts were held in certain months only, determined by the appearance of the heavens after nightfall. On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu," or, "The Rock-for-seeing-stars," and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The season for the Paina depended on the position of the three central stars of Orion, with regard to which the following story is related. A certain married woman, on going down to bathe, was carried off by a stranger. When her husband discovered this, he slew her in his anger, and she fled up to be a star. The husband then took their two boys, one in each hand, and followed her to the sky, where the three form the belt of Orion. The wife, however, would have nothing to do with them, and remained in a separate part of the heavens. This is the only nature myth which we encountered on the island.